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Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5246th meeting

Thursday, 4 August 2005, 11.05 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Oshima	(Japan)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Mr. Faaborg-Andersen
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mrs. Taj
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

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05-45189 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

Expression of welcome to Mr. John Bolton, Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations

The President: I should like, at the outset of the meeting, to extend, on behalf of the members of the Council, a most sincere and warm welcome to Ambassador John Bolton, the new Permanent Representative of the United States, as he begins his work at the United Nations and in the Security Council. We all look forward to working closely with Ambassador Bolton in the months ahead, and we also look forward to benefiting from his contributions to the work of the Council, based on his long and rich experience and his distinguished diplomatic career.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sumaida'ie (Iraq) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2005/494, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Romania, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1618 (2005).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Bolton (United States of America): I am very pleased that my first participation in the Security Council comes on the day on which the Council has unanimously adopted this resolution condemning terrorism in Iraq, vividly demonstrating broad international support for the Iraqi Government. That support is extremely important as Iraq continues forward with its political, security and economic transition.

Today it is, notably, only days after the 15-year anniversary of Saddam Hussein's unprovoked aggression against Kuwait and the adoption of resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990). Over that 15-year period, the Council has been seized with the question of Iraq. For most of that time, the effort was to compel positive behaviour from the Government of Iraq. Today, however, the Council is in partnership with the new, democratically elected Government of that country.

On a personal note, I was the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations in August 1990. I have long been invested with ensuring the development of a peaceful, democratic Iraq. We are nearing the resolution of that process, and the next months will be critical.

Iraq is quickly approaching another major milestone in its transition, that of having a draft constitution in place by 15 August. In anticipation of doing so, the Iraqi Government has expressed its commitment to meeting the 15 October referendum and

the 15 December election timelines as outlined in the Transitional Administrative Law and endorsed by Security Council resolution 1546 (2004). It is important that that be a transparent, participatory and inclusive process.

The Iraqi people continue to demonstrate the courage that we have seen throughout the transition process, most notably on 30 January, when millions of Iraqis participated in Iraq's first democratic national election. Undeterred by Saddam Hussein's legacy of many years of oppression and war, the Iraqi people are determined to create a new reality. Iraqis continue to work towards a new constitution and new elections despite ongoing terrorist attacks and threats of attacks.

This resolution is also important because it illustrates that Iraq faces the same transnational terrorist threat that has struck many other parts of the world. This resolution highlights the critical importance of cooperation among all Member States to halt the flow of terrorists, weapons and terrorist financing to Iraq.

We call upon the Governments of Syria and Iran to honour their commitments to assist Iraq under this resolution and other relevant resolutions, including resolution 1546 (2004), and to implement the pledges they have made to support stability in Iraq at the conference of Iraq's neighbours.

We call upon all Iraqis to reject violence and to support a transparent, participatory and inclusive transition process.

The constructive dialogue through which this text was developed demonstrates further the strengthened resolve of the United Nations to work together for a democratic, secure and prosperous Iraq and for the lasting and permanent benefit and safety of its people.

Finally, we urge all Member States of the United Nations, especially in the Arab world, to come forward and support the Iraqi people at this critical point in their development of constitutional structures of representative government.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): I would like to begin by expressing my pleasure in very warmly welcoming Ambassador John Bolton, the new Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. I would like to assure him of our full readiness to work with him as closely as possible and in an open and constructive spirit.

Algeria voted in favour of the resolution on Iraq because it represents a very timely response to the worrying resurgence of terrorist violence in Iraq and around the world. Given that the resolution addresses Iraq in particular, my country, like other members of the Council, cannot but condemn in the strongest terms the appalling attacks being committed there daily, which are causing the deaths of hundreds of innocent people, including children, diplomats and even journalists.

In accordance with the Charter, the Security Council's mandate is to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations with the greatest determination until it is finally eradicated, including by addressing its underlying causes. All Member States have an obligation to cooperate actively and effectively in efforts aimed at combating terrorism.

In Iraq, combating terrorism must go hand-in-hand with heightened efforts to bring the political process to conclusion and to ensure a transition that will enable that fraternal country to regain its full sovereignty and to preserve its unity and territorial integrity. In that regard, it is essential that the draft constitution be finalized in an inclusive manner and within the time frame that has been set, and submitted to the Transitional National Assembly and subsequently to the Iraqi people for approval.

Algeria, which has just lost two of its courageous sons in the service of peace in Iraq, will continue to stand alongside the Iraqi people during the difficult phase they are undergoing, as well as to lend its support to the political process that will enable them to regain the peace, stability and progress they so ardently aspires to and to seize their destiny with independence and dignity.

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): Allow me also to welcome Ambassador Bolton, the new Permanent Representative of the United States of America. I assure him of my delegation's readiness to cooperate closely with him, as it is our custom to do with the United States Mission.

France has fully supported the resolution just adopted. We resolutely condemn the terrorist attacks being committed in Iraq on an almost daily basis. The Security Council is playing its role by reacting to those unjustifiable acts that threaten peace and security. In Iraq as well as elsewhere, the fight against terrorism

must be carried out relentlessly and with the most absolute determination.

France would also like to reiterate its belief that only a political solution pursuant to resolution 1546 (2004) is likely to provide Iraq with prospects for peace and stability. That political solution must be based on national reconciliation, the rejection of all forms of exclusion and discrimination and the involvement of all Iraqis in the transition.

In that regard, it is essential that the draft constitution to be submitted to a vote in the Transitional National Assembly and subsequently to popular referendum first be the subject of consensus among all segments of the Iraqi population within the Constitutional Drafting Commission.

France reaffirms its full support for the political process in Iraq, as well as its determination to help the Iraqi people during this difficult period of transition.

Mr. Mayoral (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): First of all, allow me to welcome Ambassador John Bolton. I assure him of my and my delegation's determination to work with him and his Mission, as we have done since we became members of the Security Council.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution submitted by the United Kingdom and the United States because Argentina most vigorously and unequivocally condemns and has condemned all acts of terrorist violence in Iraq, which have killed many innocent civilians, including children. In that regard, I wish once again to extend the condolences of the people and Government of Argentina to all the family members of the victims of those brutal attacks.

We also reaffirm our condemnation of the attacks on the diplomatic community accredited in Iraq and again convey our condolences to the Governments of Algeria and Egypt, which recently suffered the assassinations of their diplomats in Baghdad.

We also reiterate that there is absolutely no justification for terrorist acts and that those who are responsible for and perpetrate such acts should be brought to justice. The international community is duty-bound to cooperate with such efforts, pursuant to the resolutions of the Security Council and other relevant international obligations.

We also believe it essential that the Iraqi political process, if it is to be successful, be as inclusive as possible and that all Iraqi sectors involved — political, ethnic and religious — join in a genuine dialogue that would help to achieve national reconciliation in that country.

Lastly, we wish further to note that, as we struggle against terrorism, we cannot lose sight of the need to respect civilians. In that regard, my country appeals to all the forces acting to maintain security in Iraq to take all the necessary precautions to protect the civilian population at all times in the context of respect for human rights and international humanitarian law.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): I, too, would like to join colleagues in welcoming Mr. Bolton. The United Kingdom looks forward to working very closely with him.

The United Kingdom welcomes today's resolution. It is right that the Council should condemn without reservation and in the strongest terms the recent terrorist attacks that have taken place in Iraq. Those attacks and attacks before them, targeting and killing hundreds, truly have been shameless and horrific.

The resolution we have adopted again urges every United Nations Member State to prevent the transit, arming, support and financing of terrorists, and it again notes the importance of the role of countries in the region — and in particular Iraq's neighbours — in that respect. Syria and Iran, in particular, can and should do more. Nothing can justify any country's turning and blind eye to those acts of mass murder. Nothing can justify supporting those callous terrorists.

Despite those attacks, many courageous Iraqis continue to take forward the peaceful political process and the drafting of a new constitution as they work towards constitutionally mandated elections inclusive of all. The international community should and, I know, will stand by them in those efforts, encouraging national dialogue, outreach and a political process in which all Iraqis can participate peacefully. For our part, we must do everything possible to support that process and the recently confirmed timetable for that constitutional development.

Mr. Konuzin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I welcome Ambassador Bolton as Permanent Representative of the United States to the United

Nations. We are prepared to cooperate actively with him in the Security Council and other bodies of the Organization.

Russia voted in favour of resolution 1618 (2005) on terrorist activities in Iraq. We proceed from the premise that any violence against the civilian population is a crime that can have no justification whatsoever. We express our condolences once again to the Iraqis who have lost their loved ones as a result of terrorist attacks and to our Algerian and Egyptian colleagues whose comrades fell victim to criminals hiding behind religious and political slogans. We are pleased that today's resolution includes provisions condemning the murder of diplomats and calling for protection for all foreign civilian personnel. Those who organize, sponsor and carry out such inhuman misdeeds must be subject to the most severe punishment.

In the circumstances of a brutal war against terrorists, we note in particular the inadmissibility of giving them a podium in the mass media for the spread of their views. We may refer abstractly about freedom of speech and the right to disseminate information, but that right is not without its limits. In most countries throughout the world, it is prohibited to propagandize war, inequality among people and various forms of discrimination. There are other limitations as well. We must be equally responsible in approaching the possibility of propagandizing ideologies and terrorist practices, which are no less dangerous phenomena. It is indeed ignoble to yield to the commercial temptation to popularize sanguinary bandits who defile the memory of the dead and inflict additional pain and suffering on their loved ones.

The situation in Iraq cannot be boiled down simply to the need to fight international terrorism. Uncompromising opposition to terrorism, regardless of its origins, is one of the priority responsibilities of the Security Council. We can resolve the issue of Iraq only if we undertake comprehensive efforts in the overall Iraqi context. The crimes committed today by terrorists are only part of the problem to be overcome by the Iraqi people on their path towards a political settlement. The achievement of national reconciliation is the most important key to the elimination of the terrorist threats facing that State. It is vitally necessary to find a just political solution for adequate participation in the management of State affairs by all political forces in the country and all ethnic and religious groups living on its territory.

We should agree on the basic principles to underlie the future constitution and the country's governmental structures. In that connection, a new basic law must be acceptable to all Iraqis and exclude all forms of discrimination. We must reach an understanding on the timeframe and conditions for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Iraqi territory. In that connection, we must revive the country's functioning national security structures. If we fail to resolve those issues, the causes of the ongoing terrorist activity in Iraq will not be allayed. Russia has repeatedly undertaken initiatives to assist in the Iraqi political settlement, and those initiatives remain active.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): At the outset, I wish to join other delegations in extending our welcome to Ambassador John Bolton.

The Brazilian delegation condemns, in the strongest terms, the terrorist acts taking place throughout Iraq. No motivation can justify the deadly toll of civilians on a daily basis. We express our deep condolences to the families of the victims and to the people and the Government of Iraq. Brazil shares their pain, as we lost Sergio Vieira de Mello in a brutal attack against the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad almost two years ago. Presently, the Brazilian Government is making additional efforts to search for the engineer João José Vasconcellos, Jr., who was kidnapped last January. The resolution just adopted reflects our concern for the security of foreign diplomats, United Nations staff and foreign civilian personnel in Iraq.

The successful conclusion of the transitional period with the referendum on a permanent constitution and the election of a new Government can provide the conditions that will enable Iraqis to definitely break with the past and build a new future. Energies should be focused so as to enable that vital political process to prosper. All parties in Iraq have a responsibility to prevent a stalemate at this stage, which would mean only the perpetuation of instability, carnage and suffering.

That responsibility relies on ensuring that the political process is inclusive and transparent. It is a task for both those who are taking part in the process, who must be responsive to the broader interests of society and must provide for participation in decision-

making, and those who have decided not to engage, who are asked to lay down their arms or to overcome their indifference and step in.

The Brazilian Government stresses the right of the Iraqi people to determine their own political future. An independent, sovereign and democratic Iraq is to be built through reconciliation and unity. That is the only possible way to ensure that their keenest national interests will prevail and that Iraq will be able to walk on its own feet once again.

Mr. Cheng Jingye (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, the Chinese delegation would like to welcome Ambassador Bolton among us. We look forward to continuing our cooperation with the United States delegation.

The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the series of terrorist attacks that has taken place recently in Iraq. We would like to express our deepest sympathy and condolences to the victims of those attacks, to their families and to the Government and the people of Iraq.

The maintenance of security and stability in Iraq is a very important guarantee for the smooth development of the current political process in Iraq. We hope that the parties concerned can redouble their efforts to take all possible measures to improve the present security situation on the ground.

We have also followed with great attention and concern the political process in Iraq. We believe that the parties in the country will be able to act in the long-term interests of the Iraqi people, strengthen their unity and overcome their differences so that the constitution can be finalized according to schedule.

Mr. Dumitru (Romania): On behalf of the Romanian delegation to the Security Council, I am particularly honoured to warmly welcome the new Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, Ambassador John Bolton. It is our determination to continue our close cooperation with the United States delegation during the next five months, the last leg of Romania's membership in this body.

We have recently witnessed a worrisome and troubling accumulation of terrorist acts in Iraq. One can definitely speak of a critical mass of such horrendous attacks that makes Council action imperative. It is important that the Council send a strong message of condemnation of such acts as well as a message of solidarity with the people of Iraq in the face of this threat.

It is for that reason that Romania, a country that is itself actively participating in the effort to stabilize Iraq and to ensure a successful political transition in this sorely tried country, decided to co-sponsor this resolution. In our view, the resolution is a timely upgrade of Security Council action with regard to a major item on its agenda. It is also the appropriate answer to a formal request made by the legitimate Government of Iraq itself. As Romania will continue to participate in the international community's efforts to help Iraq, we look forward to the full implementation of the resolution.

The President: I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as representative of Japan.

Japan welcomes the adoption of resolution 1618 (2005) with unanimous support. That demonstrates the Council's strong determination to condemn terrorism and to do its utmost to prevent further acts of terrorism in Iraq as well as in other countries and places. In particular, Japan hopes that despite the tragic deaths of Mijbil Sheikh Issa and Thamen Hossein Obeidi, the constitutional process in Iraq will continue to recover its pace so that the political process, as outlined in resolution 1546 (2004), can move forward in order to achieve the goal of realizing a stable and peaceful Iraq as early as possible.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I now give the floor to the representative of Iraq.

Mr. Sumaida'ie (Iraq): I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to commend your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Greece, for his able stewardship last month. I wish also to congratulate Ambassador John Bolton on assuming his role at the United Nations. I look forward to working closely together with him.

I must thank the Security Council for giving me the opportunity to speak before it again on this occasion.

Today, the Security Council has spoken with one voice on an issue that is at the very core of its functions, powers and responsibility as specified in

Article 24 of the United Nations Charter, namely, peace and security. In doing so, it is acting, as the Article states, on behalf of all Member States — that is, on behalf of the world.

Terrorism has emerged as one of the greatest challenges to world peace and security. We have seen that challenge mounted to deadly effect in Beirut, New York, Washington, D.C., Nairobi, Beslan, Madrid, Bali, Aden, Karachi, Riyadh, New Delhi, Casablanca, Istanbul, London, Sharm el-Sheikh and other places. But nowhere is it as virulent and persistent as it is in Iraq today.

Iraq is paying in blood and treasure: the blood of its innocent citizens and the wealth it badly needs for reconstruction and healing in a fight against this multiheaded modern-day monster that stalks the world and that, after Afghanistan, has nested in its land. Iraq is bearing the burden for the world, and now the world must stand with it. I wish to thank the Security Council, as the guardian of world peace and security, for taking this honourable stand.

The Iraqi people, like the people of London but with immeasurably greater risk and hardship, are facing down the terrorists and going ahead, as they must, with building their lives, their new democratic institutions and their country. They can take comfort today in the fact that that they are far from being alone.

There are those who say that terrorism has been unleashed in Iraq because of the occupation of Iraq; that it would have been better not to take military action to remove Saddam Hussein and his regime, odious though it was; that it would have been better to let sleeping dogs lie. That is nonsense. That is the kind of inverted logic that appeals to those who, for reasons of their own, do not want to see. It is the logic which blames the doctor for the disease and the victim for the assault.

However, I do not want to dwell on the past or go over the arguments and counter-arguments in favour of or against military action in Iraq — although I am quite willing, if anyone is ready to listen, to passionately defend the action that delivered the Iraqi people from bondage and allowed them for the first time to express their free will and contemplate a future with the pride and dignity that they deserve.

We are not talking here about ordinary dissent. The new Iraq is wide open to all its citizens and their opinions and attitudes. We hear them expressing such opinions freely every day, as they did in their millions on election day in January. Lively debates are taking place as we speak about the constitution and the future shape of the country. All viewpoints are actively sought and encouraged, not just welcomed — even from those who have strong misgivings about the current political climate in Iraq. But that is not what terrorism is about. It is about forcing and coercing people. It is about limiting choices and trampling underfoot human rights, dignity and all the values that we hold dear.

The Secretary-General was quite right when he said, in paragraph 87 of his report "In larger freedom" (A/59/2005),

> "Terrorism is a threat to all that the United Nations stands for: respect for human rights, the rule of law, the protection of civilians, tolerance among peoples and nations, and the peaceful resolution of conflict."

Faced with such a threat, what must we do? The operative word here is "do". It is not enough to condemn terrorism, although that is an essential first step. We must go beyond that to understand its nature, confront it at every level and defeat it. That is a task that is easier said than done, we know, but it must be done, because there is no acceptable alternative.

The relevant questions now are: what is terrorism? What lies at the roots of terrorism? What do terrorists want? Do they offer an alternative that can be considered? And can anything be done — or undone — to assuage their vindictiveness and violence?

I know that a comprehensive definition of terrorism has eluded this Organization so far. Some tend to confuse struggles for self-determination with terrorism and to blur the borders between them. Yet we know that no struggle for independence and self-determination targets its own people, its own water and electricity supply systems, its own hospitals, its oil pipelines, the humanitarian aid workers who are risking their lives to help their people, neutral United Nations personnel, foreign diplomats, children, barbers for shaving beards, women for not covering their heads, contractors and engineers repairing schools and bridges, and restaurant-goers for simply being out with their families for a meal. It should not be so hard to define terrorism, at least its core segment. A

determined effort to agree on such a definition should be made.

At a fundamental level, terrorists are people who want to change the world and believe that violence against civilians — and sometimes against themselves — is the most effective way to do so. We must resolutely and collectively reject any notion that legitimizes such violence, no matter in what direction they seek to change the world. Because if we accept any such notion, there can be no peace or security anywhere.

In the case of Iraq, terrorists and their apologists often declare that they are seeking to remove the foreign forces from its territories. Yet everything they do leads exactly in the opposite direction. They continue, through their actions, to provide the main justification for the prolonged presence of foreign forces.

Terrorism has its own structures: a superficially attractive ideology, financial support, recruits, lines of communication, lines of supply, safe houses, means of intimidation and coercion, disinformation, propaganda, apologists and individual, institutional and State allies who see themselves benefiting from their activities. It tends to grow like bacteria in a suitable environment and entails a combination of ignorance, a hopelessly skewed world view, a sense of grievance and a culture of violence, criminality and death.

More resources must be allocated for the study and analysis of terrorism, and in particular the phenomenon of suicide bombers. These are being produced in unprecedented numbers. We must get at the sources of their proliferation, the structure that supports them, and dismantle it systematically. We must also take practical steps to prevent any media from promoting or glamorizing terrorists. This effort is clearly bigger than any single country can undertake and requires international cooperation; hence the importance of this resolution.

Coming back to my country, there is hardly a family in Baghdad which has not been affected directly or indirectly by acts of terrorism. On a personal level, I have lost several dear friends, including my colleagues, members of the Governing Council, Aqila Al-Hashimi, who participated in the work of the Security Council in 2003; Izzuddin Saleem, who was Chairman of the Governing Council at the time; women's rights activist Amal Ma'malchi; and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Bassam Kubbah. Those and others — all fine individuals — were patriots serving their people and their country. In each case two thoughts passed through my mind as I struggled with the agony of loss: there but for the grace of God go I; and, no matter what, we must not give in to the murderers. We must not weaken.

We shall not weaken. With your collective help, we shall beat these merchants of death and destruction and build a country to be proud of.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.